1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

equipment in large carrying-nets and bags; at such times the men march along unburdened, carrying in their hands only bow and arrows. This is, however, easily accounted for, as on the trek the men have always to be prepared to kill game for procuring food. If they, like the women, were hampered by heavy loads, they would practically have no chance at all of taking a ready arrow shot at game encountered on the march. 462

I never once saw grown women amusing themselves with any games or sports, whereas this is frequently the case with the men. The chief occupations of the latter consist of hunting, fishing, the gathering of wild honey and the manufacturing of various weapons and implements (see the above table of division of labour as between the sexes). The men give considerably less time to actual labour than the women, and to me it seemed as if the life of Choroti wives was hard and laborious, whilst that of the men, as a rule, was pretty light and easy-going.

Nevertheless, the men are by no means hard or cruel to their wives, and it appeared to me as if the women took it as a matter of course that they had to work for their husbands and children in the way they did, and, generally speaking, they seemed quite content with their lot in life. Indeed, I noticed many instances of real domestic happiness. 593

Parents bear great love to their children. These, when quite small, are carried by their mothers in a broad strip, or piece, of cloth in the way fig. 180 shows. The Choroti do not have many children; it is only seldom that the number of children exceeds four. According to Nordenskiöld, they are given names only when old enough to answer to them. The same author has noted down the following Choroti names, of which the first three are men's names, and the remainder women's names: Yóseliané (the killer of foxes), Hótenie (Mataco), Éstiähua (a gallinaceous bird), Hayku (not sweet), Kósoki (suffering from skin eruptions), Aséshnialo (women in plenty).[1] [854] [462] [551] [553]

Parental authority does not amount to much, and actual bringing up and discipline is entirely out of the question. In cases where parents attain so great an age that they become irksome to their children, it is not unknown for the latter to kill them. Nordenskiöld's interpreter, Flores, once witnessed a Choroti man burning an old and decrepit woman alive. Old men and women, who are suspected of working evil by witchcraft, are sometimes burned alive, and therefore it is possible that belief in the 888 754 683

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 85.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

593

[342]

Fig. 180. Husband and wife with baby. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[888 754 683] supernatural, of some kind or other, plays a leading part when children kill their aged parent.

622 Every village is ruled by a chief or headman. According to the observations of some investigators, these headmen do not nowadays possess any great power or authority, but among the Choroti whom I visited in 1901, the chief's authority was by no means inconsiderable. For example, it only needed my arranging with him that the Indians were to carry out a certain piece of work, and the work would be done. For the work performed by the Indians I paid the chief in goods, which he allotted among them as he himself thought fit, as it appeared. In war, each village [643] contingent is under the leadership of their headman. It was stated by the soldiers of Fort Crevaux that all Choroti used to be under a paramount chief, whose authority over all the other chiefs principally consisted in his being entitled to taking chief command in war. The office of village headman as a rule descends from father to son.

622 554 That certain Choroti chiefs used to be held in greater respect than others was made evident to us at a visit we made to a sugar plantation on our return journey to Salta. A large number of Choroti had just then

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

anétsias vuh, exerting a certain social influence. Chieftainship however, among the Choroti is rather nominal than real; even the »great chief» is in fact destitute of power, although in relation to other tribes and to the whites he exercises certain representative functions. Thus when commissions from the sugar factories arrived in the Chaco to negotiate about the sending of Indian labourers to northern Argentine, they had to deal with the chiefs, who through the medium of interpreters gave them answers on behalf of their people. But even the »great chiefs» cannot compel anybody to work, nor can they interfere with the private affairs of the families, in which the father and the mother have full liberty of action. Still more imaginary is the power of the village chief, who is nothing but a *pater familias* enjoying a certain esteem. He cannot command anybody, but merely represents his village community in relation to outsiders, just as the »great chief» represents the whole sub-tribe.

The dignity of chief is not hereditary among the Choroti, nor apparently among the Mataco. When the chief dies, the oldest family fathers of the community assemble under the big algaroba tree which serves as a club-house and elect a new chief, the election taking place in connection with a drinking-feast.

Old men are generally held in great esteem, and the chiefs are generally, although not invariably, men of advanced age. Among the Choroti, old men are held in particular esteem for superstitious reasons, since they are believed to be changed, after death, into evil spirits. As we shall see later on in the chapter on the religion of the Indians, the spirits of the Choroti are believed to appear in the shape of old men. Since the natural magical power of the human body is increased with advancing age, it is natural that old people are feared, but the supernatural halo which surrounds them of course at the same time is apt to give them social influence. Above all their supposed connection with the spirits makes them qualified to exercise religious functions. Independent of any particular initiation, every old man is credited with the power of conjuring the spirits and is thus always more or less a sorcerer. If therefore we wish to speak of a social distinction among the Choroti, we may say that the sorcerers, called *ayïeu*, are the only members of the Choroti society who in a certain sense form a class of their own or mark the beginnings of a social differentiation. Since, however, every old man is more or less expert in the act of magic and considered able to handle the rattle gourd (*pelite*) or the drum (*usyúk*), the *ayïeu* of the Choroti cannot be called professional sorcerers in the strict sense of the word.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

old men to die a natural death, but when they grow very weakly and sickly they kill them with an arrow-shot in the heart, whereupon they burn them with all their property instead of burying them, which among the Choroti is the general mode of disposing of the remains of the dead. The reason which they gave me for this custom was that if an old man is allowed to die a natural death he will be changed into an evil demon (*möhsek*), who will rage in the village and kill all the people. This, according to their idea, can be prevented by giving the old men a premature, violent death.[1]) In order to understand this custom we must, moreover, take into consideration that to the mind of these Indians *all* aged men are more or less versed in the magic art, *i. e.* are sorcerers, and the spirits of sorcerers are specially feared.

The fact that old men and sorcerers are believed to be transformed after death into evil *möhsek* seems to suggest that these spirits or demons are nothing but disembodied human souls, who have in the after-life been changed into supernatural and mostly evilly disposed beings. As a matter of fact, the death-spirit residing in the grave where a dead body has been buried is called *möhsek* by the Choroti. Like most other primitive peoples the Choroti fear the burial-places because they fear coming in contact with the spirits haunting these places. It seems therefore evident that at any rate the souls of certain persons are changed into *möhsek* after death. The word *möhsek* may therefore be best translated into 'ghost'. The Indians only use it of the disembodied souls or spirits of dead men, but not of the shadow-like »double» of a living person, for which they have no particular word. Even when speaking of a recently departed person they generally simply use the expression *yäl*, *i. e.* »the dead one». *Möhsek* particularly seems to have reference to the spirits of men who died long ago, and these spirits as a rule are more evilly disposed and more feared than the spirits of Indians recently departed.

The Choroti, like other Chaco Indians, do not deify inanimate objects of nature to the same extent as many other South American tribes. Yet

[1]) Nordenskiöld's categoric statement as to the practice of infanticide and parricide among the Choroti therefore is not correct. (»Der Mord beschränkt sich auf den Kinder- und Elternmord»; and: »Wenn ein Indianer seine alte blinde Mutter oder seinen verkrüppelten Vater tötet, so befreit er sie selbst von einem Leben das ihnen eine Last ist und sich selbst von einer Extramühe im Kampfe ums Dasein.» (*Indianerleben*, p. 38). As I have stated above, the killing of parents is limited to old men, and this custom must wholly be explained from the superstition of the Indians. Infanticide again is limited to the cases mentioned by me in a previous chapter.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

there are several evidences of a nature animism, although as a general rule only such objects and phenomena as especially strike their imagination or with which some remarkable incidents are connected, are incidentally or permanently looked upon as being animated by spirits. There are evil demons in the sky, which among other things cause such strange phenomena as eclipses of the moon, of which the Choroti have the same idea as the Mataco and most other Chaco tribes. Other evil spirits of the sky cause drought, which in the Chaco forms the greatest obstacle to a successful cultivation of the fields. The demons keep the rain back, and the Indians in consequence try, during the dry season, to conjure them by drumming, shaking rattles and chanting so as to compel them to release rain. On the other hand, there are demons operating in the violent thunderstorms, although these are generally accompanied by torrents of rain. The Choroti believe that thunder and the flash of lightning are caused by a great number of *môhsek* who are rushing through the air and making an onset upon the village. These spirits are more often called *ahuéna*, »the birds», and thunder and lightning are therefore generally called by the Indians simply *ahuéna*, although the proper name in the Choroti language is *süntini*. Every time a burst of thunder is heard, the Indians, sitting in their huts, begin to shout and scream loudly, in order to frighten away the molesting supernatural visitors. There are evil spirits in the violent whirlwinds and sand-storms so common in the Chaco, as well as in the cold south wind, *niük*, which during the dry season sweeps over the plains and produces rheumatism and chills among the natives, badly equipped as they are against cold weather. The warm north wind again, *ükine*, is sent by »good» spirits. Thus the radical contrast between the cold south wind and the warm north wind, both of which are sent by supernatural agents, has been to the Choroti the main reason for making a distinction between two of the four cardinal points.

Spirits, *môhsek*, are also believed to animate *trees* and *plants* -- bad spirits poisonous and harmful plants, good spirits the beneficial and useful ones. The ideas which the Indians entertain about plant spirits and the customs to which they give rise, are substantially the same among all the tribes, and I shall presently give an account of them.

The Choroti also believe in *animal* demons. Thus they share the belief, held by all Indians in tropical and subtropical America, that a jaguar which attacks Indians or appears under unusual circumstances, is a »man-tiger» *i.e.* a man, generally a sorcerer, who has assumed the shape of this beast. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer may incidentally change

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 S17 Matacc

Choroti SK 6

776 himself into a jaguar and, appearing in this disguise, kill people. Similarly,
754 an evil wizard is believed to be able to send his soul into a horse, in which
825 shape he will kill the person whom he wishes to bewitch. The horse in fact is the particular shape in which the tutelary spirit of a sorcerer is believed to appear, and is therefore looked upon as a demoniacal animal. Of other animals which are looked upon with superstitious fear the deer must be especially mentioned. This shy and innocent animal is regarded as an evil spirit, a *möhsek*, and its flesh is never eaten by the Choroti. On this point these Indians share a belief which, curiously enough, is met with among many tribes in different parts of South America. In the noiseless movements of this animal and the mysterious rapidity with which it disappears into the forest there is in fact something »ghost-like», which is apt to awaken superstitious awe in primitive minds.

754 Just as a sorcerer is supposed to be able to change himself into a jaguar
825 when he wishes to harm other people, so he is also believed occasionally to assume, for the same purpose, the shape of a venomous reptile, for instance that of a rattlesnake. The bite of a venomous snake is generally attributed to the mysterious operation of an evil wizard.

776 Of spirits inhabiting what we should call inanimate objects the spi-
823 rits of the *stones* are of particular interest. In order to understand the ideas which the Choroti entertain in this respect it should be borne in mind that in the interior parts of the Gran Chaco, and particularly in the country inhabited by the Choroti, stones are extremely rare or almost unobtainable. It is in part due to this fact that the Choroti regard stones and pebbles in general with superstitious dread and would never, for instance, put on a necklace in which a stone of some kind entered as a decoration. The reason which they gave me for this aversion was that an evil spirit, a *möhsek*, dwells in the small stone and would infallibly invade the person who hung it on himself. The explanation was, moreover, added, that when a sorcerer bewitches an Indian he avails himself of a pebble-stone which he throws against his victim making him fall ill and
[755] die. Similarly, when the medicine-man cures the patient, he extracts the disease-demon in the form of a small stone. In other words, stones are shunned because they form one of the magic arrows which the sorcerers use to kill or harm their enemies.

753 The theory which the Choroti have formed about *sickness* and *disease* has appeared from some of the above statements. Sickness, like epidemic disease, is always due to supernatural operation. It is caused by a demon, a *möhsek*, directed by a human sorcerer. Wizards cause sickness by

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
Chorot SK6

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with the Indian himself: when intoxicated by brandy he gets mad and 273
is always ready for fights and outrages; on the other hand, his own 776
native beers comparatively seldom have such bad effects. As a rule they render him happy and joyful, virile and courageous, and make him forget the troubles and hardships of life. This is the reason why, to the Indian mind, there is a *good* deity or spirit residing in the native algaroba beer. But since this deity in the first place inspires the Indian with *virile* qualities, the drinking of this as well as of most other intoxicating drinks is strictly limited to the men. Women never drink algaroba beer, except perhaps some very old women who are freed from the restrictions normally laid upon the weaker sex.

The great drinking-feasts of the Chaco Indians during the »season» 800
will be described later on, as also the ceremonies with which the sacred drinks are prepared.

When the Chaco Indians speak of their »good spirits», however, they T
generally mean spirits of another kind. The medicine-men as a rule 776
speak of these spirits in the singular, meaning thereby a mysterious 756
personal guardian spirit of their own. Such a being is for instance the *peyák nôtta* of the *T o b a* medicine-man, a kind of individual guardian spirit with whom the Indian has entered into a special relation and whom he asks for assistance in sickness and in every necessity. Among the Tobas all professional medicine-men and many of the older men are said to have such guardian spirits; even some of the women, who then exercise the profession of female sorcerers. The more the person in question has acquired power over his or her »good spirit», the more that person is in possession of what we should call supernatural powers. When, for instance, the medicine-man has to cure a sick person, he summons his own guardian spirit and by his aid expels the disease-demon from the patient's body. Similarly, those sorcerers who practise black or nefarious magic are able to harm their fellows only by the aid of their assistant spirits whom they invoke and who will despatch a spirit against their victim.

If a sorcerer wishes to harm another sorcerer, who of course also C
has his guardian spirit, or some other person in possession of such a spirit, 754 ●
he can do so only by fighting and vanquishing the assistant spirit of 776
that person. This was especially made clear to me by the *C h o r o t i* Indians. A sorcerer who wants to kill or harm such a person, I was told, invokes his own »good spirit»; this comes down from the heavens in the

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

C 754 776 shape of a horse [1]) — an animal which is regarded with superstition by the Choroti — and will kill the »good spirit» of the inimical sorcerer. The latter, being thus deprived of his assistant genius, will fall an easy victim to his assailant.

C 756 588 776 The guardian spirit is not hereditary but is acquired individually in the course of life and to a certain degree through teaching. The older a person grows, the more power and influence he is believed, by the Tobas, to gain over his *peyák nõtta*; hence the medicine-men are generally men of advanced age. The same may be said of the *Choroti*, who regard every old man as being more or less a sorcerer and endowed with supernatural powers. Since the women are always physically and spiritually weaker than men, they have always more difficulty in obtaining guardian spirits. I only know of a special initiation for women, who dedicate themselves to the exercise of the magic art, in the case of the Choroti. A women who wants to become a sorcerer, I was told, must C 824 eat a raw chirimoya fruit (*Anona chirimolia?*). When ripe, the chirimoya is edible and good; but in an unripe condition it is said to be poisonous, and a person eating of it according to the belief of the Indians will die or fall ill. If however the woman, while she is eating the raw fruit, performs the ceremony *Kausimã* with the magical rattle staffs, she will escape harm, and she will moreover in the future be able to conjure spirits with success. This idea is in fact typical of the initiation ceremonies of the Indians: the woman has been in contact with evil spirits but has been able to resist them, in consequence she has been rendered immune against them and acquired power over them which enables her to use them for her own ends in the future.

I C 776 772 Apart from the fact that the »good spirit» of the Choroti medicine-men is at least in some cases believed to appear in the form of a horse, the »good spirits» are in their external appearance like other spirits. The *Tobas* say that their *peyák nõtta* dwells in the heavens (*piyim*) from where he comes down to assist the medicine-man who invokes him. Similarly the Choroti say that their *mõhsek eis*, when summond by the sorcerer comes down from the sky, but the »sky» (*põle*) is not to the Choroti a definite place like the *piyim* of the Tobas. *Piyim* has developed into a mythological concept: it signifies Paradise or the realm of T 776 772 the dead of the Toba Indians. When a Toba Indian dies, I was told,

[1]) Since the horse was introduced among the Chaco Indians by Europeans, this is not of course an original idea of the Choroti.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

by another name: sometimes it is called *nihléle*, in other cases again *pini*, words which have their equivalents in the Mataco and the Toba languages in the terms *aláh* and *kaipák* respectively. In regard to all these words we have to remember that they belong to the particular mystical terminology of the sorcerers and cannot exactly be translated into any civilized language. The Indian »arrow» or »splinter» is half an inanimate object, half a live being, half material, half spiritual, half natural, half supernatural. Whatever it is, it is to the primitive mind the most real thing possible, because its existence is manifested by its dreadful effects.

The Choroti Indian, who works evil against his fellow-tribesmen by throwing spells against them, is called a wizard (*ayïeu*). The expression for the nefarious operation itself is in the Choroti language *páhu ahuli sikiätsä*, (»to work evil against a fellow-man by means of witchcraft»). For the purpose of bewitching another Indian the sorcerer tries if possible to get hold of something that has been in close contact with the victim's body, for instance a single hair, a little saliva when he has spat on the ground, something of his excrement, a piece of his clothes, etc., and uses these things as vehicles for his curses. But even a medicine-man or curer, as we have seen, is called *ayïeu*, and there is thus no essential difference between an Indian practising black or nefarious magic and one practising white magic. A man in possession of a guardian spirit may use his art either for the benefit of his fellow-tribesmen or to harm them, according as to whether he regards them as his friends or as his foes.

Besides rheumatism, affections of the throat and the chest, arising from chill, are very common among the Chaco Indians during the dry season. The Indian explanation invariably is that an evil spirit has entered into that particular part of the body where the pain is felt. If a Choroti Indian suffers from head-ache and I ask him what is the matter with him, he will answer that he has a *mōhsek* in the head; if he suffers from a catarrh, he will point to his throat or his chest and say that a *mōhsek* has taken its seat in either of these parts of the body. In a village I once met an old woman who had her right fore-arm paralyzed, evidently in consequence of a fit of apoplexy. She explained to me that the arm had been seized by an evil *mōhsek*, and had tied a dirty woollen band round the arm at the wrist so as to prevent the evil spirit from penetrating further into the body.

If the demon is allowed to complete his work of destruction in the